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ON THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

In order to obtain a just view of the results of emancipation in the British colonies, it is necessary to bear in remembrance a few important facts relating to the former slaves and their masters.

The slaves were regarded and used as absolute property; their persons could be sold, their labour coerced, and their family connexions, such as they were, broken up at discretion. They had no protection in law against cruelty or oppression, to whatever extent it might be carried short of wilful maiming or murder; nor in cases of this nature was their evidence valid against their masters. And the same law which reduced them to this degraded and helpless state, subjected them to heavy penalties for the slightest infraction of its requirements, and the most venial of offences committed by them were treated as heinous crimes. Such was their legal condition.

With respect to their actual treatment, it is sufficient to state, generally, it was of a most atrocious character. A cursory examination of official records will show that. But one fact in particular stands out in all its frightful enormity, to prove the murderous cruelty of the system, to the horrors of which they were subjected. In a period of eleven years, ending in 1829—30, it was discovered that the slave population of the colonies had decreased upwards of 52,000! And this waste of human life was found to have arisen from over-working, under-feeding, and severity of discipline. Their condition, to use the words of Lord Stanley, was one of "unredressed justice, bitter oppression, and hopeless wrong."

We turn from them to their masters, for the purpose of ascertaining what was their condition, in an economical point of view, under the system of slavery. It may be granted that some of them were possessed of large fortunes, but it is an undoubted fact, that the great bulk of them were in a state of decay long before the abolition of slavery, or even of the slave-trade, though they had the entire monopoly of the British markets, and were allowed large bounties, as well as drawbacks of duty, on the surplus produce they shipped to foreign ports. Here is the proof. On the 23rd November, 1792, a report was prepared on the sugar-trade of Jamaica, by a committee of the House of Assembly, which contains the following passage:—"In the course of twenty years, 177 estates in Jamaica have been sold for the payment of debts; 55 estates have been thrown up; and 99 are still in the hands of creditors." And it appears from a return made by the Provost Marshal, that "80,121 executions, amounting to 22,563,786 sterling, had been lodged in his office in the course of twenty years." A gleam of prosperity followed the revolution of St. Domingo, but in a few years the sky was again overcast, for we find in another report of the Assembly, issued in 1804, and printed by order of the House of Commons in 1805, the following passage:—"Every British merchant holding securities on real estates in filing bills in Chancery to foreclose, although when he has obtained his decree he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become the proprietor of the plantations, of which, from fatal experience, he knows the consequence. No one will advance money to relieve those whose debts approach half the value of their property, nor even lend a moderate sum without a judgment in ejectment and release of errors, that at a moment's notice he may take out a writ of possession and enter on the plantation of his unfortunate debtor. Sheriffs' officers and collectors of taxes are everywhere offering for sale the property of individuals who have seen better days, and now must view their effects purchased for half their value, and at less than half their original cost. Far from having the reversion expected, the creditor is not satisfied. All kind of credit is at an end. If litigation in the courts of common law has diminished, it is not from increased ability to perform contracts, but from confidence having ceased, and no man parting with property but for an immediate payment of the consideration. A faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature." In 1807, the House of Commons printed another report of the Jamaica legislature, from which we learn, that "within the last five or six years, sixty-five estates had been abandoned, thirty-two sold under decrees of Chancery, and 115 more respecting which suits in Chancery were depending, and many more bills preparing." From these facts, the reporter says, "the House will be able to judge to what an alarming extent the distresses of the sugar planters have already reached, and with what accelerated rapidity they are now increasing; for the sugar estates lately brought to sale, and now in the Court of Chancery in this island and in England, amount to about one-fourth of the whole number in the colony." In 1812, the case of the planters of Jamaica was recommended to the attention of the king, on which occasion it was stated, that "the ruin of the original possessors has been completed. Estate after estate has passed into the

hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident. The distress," it is added, "cannot well be aggravated." Now it must not be supposed that the foregoing statements were applicable to Jamaica alone; for we have the testimony of Mr. Marryat, a gentleman deeply interested in West Indian property, given in his place in the House of Commons, in 1813, that "there were comparatively few estates in the West Indies, that had not, during the preceding twenty years, been sold or given up to creditors. One quotation more will bring the history of the West India distress up to the year 1832. In the address of the West India body to the British nation, signed by the most eminent of its members resident in Great Britain, they say, "the alarming and unprecedented distress in which the whole British West Indian interest is involved," justified them in imploring Parliament "to adopt prompt and effectual measures of relief, in order to preserve them from inevitable ruin." Viscount Goderich, then Colonial Secretary, in commenting on this subject, in a despatch, dated 5th November, 1831, observes, "The existence of severe commercial distress amongst all classes of society connected with the West Indies is unhappily too evident;" and in stating the great cause his lordship said, "without denying the concurrence of many causes, it is obvious that the great and permanent source of distress which almost every page of the West Indies records, is to be found in the institution of slavery. It is in vain to hope for long-continued prosperity in any country, in which the people are not dependent on their own voluntary labour for support—in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward." And again, "I cannot but regard the system itself as the perennial spring of those distresses, of which, not only at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just."

With these facts before us, we may now pass on to consider the results of emancipation.

First, In reference to the emancipated classes. It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that whatever opposing causes may have obstructed the full development of the benefits of freedom in their case, their moral and physical condition has been wonderfully improved, and the first great object contemplated by the abolition of slavery fully realised. If it were needful, we could adduce in support of this gratifying fact, the unbroken testimony of every official person in the British colonies, from those who superintended the transition from slavery to freedom, down to those who are now employed in administering their affairs. The dispute, in point of fact, is not whether the emancipated slaves have been benefited by freedom, for the planters are inclined to exaggerate those benefits, but whether their late masters have been injured by it. Yet it may be well to quote the deliberate opinion of Lord Stanley, founded upon the ample data in his possession, as Colonial Secretary, given to the Spanish minister in 1842. His Lordship says:—"There are some unquestionable facts, and some broad results of the British emancipation, on which all men are agreed." These he enumerates as follows:—

"1st, It will be found that the British emancipation took place without the occurrence of a single instance of tumult or disturbance, or employment of military force; and that the joy of the negroes on the 1st of August, 1838, was orderly sober, and religious, and was manifested throughout the colonies, by prayers and thanksgivings offered up in the churches.

"2nd, It will be found that the emancipation of the 1st of August, 1838, was absolute and unqualified, and that there does not exist in any colony a single law which makes any distinction between white men and black, or between black men coming from Sierra Leone, or elsewhere, and those who are natives of the West Indies.

"3rd, It will be found that since the emancipation, the negroes have been thriving and contented; that they have raised their manner of living, and multiplied their comforts and enjoyments; that their offences against the laws have become more and more light and unfrequent; that their morals have improved; that marriage has been more and more substituted for concubinage; and that they are eager for education, rapidly advancing in knowledge, and powerfully influenced by the ministers of religion.

"Such," his Lordship adds, "are amongst those results of the British emancipation, which are plain and indisputable. And before proceeding to the controverted questions of the amount of labour to be obtained from the negroes, and the value of property, it is proper to observe, that whatever may be the conclusions on these questions, the results which have been enumerated, constitute, in the estimation of Her Majesty's Government, and of the British people, the complete success of the British emancipation, in so far as relates to the primary and paramount objects of that act. These objects," he observes, "were to substitute for a system which is contrary to

justice and humanity, and repugnant to Christian principles, one which should render an oppressed and degraded portion of our fellow-creatures happy and contented, and raise them in the scale of society and Christian life, by protection and instruction, and the enjoyment of equal rights. It was no doubt of great importance that the further objects of agricultural and commercial prosperity should be also secured; but these objects, however important in themselves, were merely secondary to the others; and how little they were deemed to be worthy of being placed in comparison with them, is evinced by the preliminary grant of twenty millions sterling to the planters in compensation for such losses as they might be exposed to."

It would be easy to follow these general statements of the results of emancipation given by Lord Stanley, with details of a most striking and encouraging character; and to show that every year since the great event has taken place, there has been an advance in the material condition and moral habits of the people. The proof of this pleasing state of things will be found in the rapid acquirement of land for cultivation on their own account—the formation of free villages distinct from the estates to which they formerly attached—the construction of better habitations to dwell in—the improved character of their clothing and food—the extension of education among the rising youth—the vast increase in the means of religious instruction which has been afforded them—and as a consequence, their rapid improvement in social virtues and religious excellence.

Secondly, In relation to the West India body. They predicted that complete ruin would result from emancipation. In a manifesto issued by them in 1831, they deliberately stated it as their "well-founded conviction, that 'the speedy annihilation of slavery,' would be attended with the devastation of the West India Colonies—with loss of lives and property to the white inhabitants—with inevitable distress and misery to the black population—and with a fatal shock to the commercial credit of the empire." In no one particular has this sinister prediction been fulfilled. The transition from slavery to freedom was most tranquil; not a single proprietor or white man was injured, either in person or property; the emancipated slaves, as we have already seen, derived the greatest benefits from that act of justice; the credit of the West Indies is now better than during the existence of slavery; and the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the colonies, has been in every respect, improved by its abolition. Individuals may have suffered, and may still be suffering from this great event; but the great mass of the population, including the proprietors as well as the labourers, have derived the highest advantage from it. The safety, and we may add the policy of emancipation, has been demonstrated.

We now turn from the predictions to the complaints of the West India body, for the purpose of ascertaining how far they are founded in truth. The complaints from the smaller colonies, if indeed they complain at all, are so feeble as to merit no attention. It is from Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad, that complaints are loudest, and they resolve themselves into a cry for more labour. It is believed, upon good evidence, that this cry is factitious. There is at this time more labour in the British colonies, than there was at the termination of slavery, though it is well known that during the apprenticeship, which continued until 1838, the mortality was as great as during the latter years of slavery. But since the complete termination of slavery, there has been in some of the colonies a rapid, and in all a steady increase in the population. By the census of the British West India colonies and of British Guiana, taken in 1844, and recently aid before Parliament, imperfectly as it appears to have been made up, there can be no doubt of a considerable augmentation of the population by natural means. In Jamaica, the Governor informs us, that there are 20,512 children under six years of age more than there were in 1834. In Tobago, the increase for the last five years has been from two to three per cent. per annum. In Barbadoes, much beyond that. The increase in Antigua has been 3,000 within the last four years. In Montserrat, the increase appears to have been 2,753 since 1838; and in British Guiana, the Creole population is steadily increasing. In the other colonies there is a decided increase, but the figures cannot be given. This cheering increase contrasts most satisfactorily with the rapid decrease of the population under slavery and the apprenticeship.

The great bulk of the labour in the colonies is still available for agricultural purposes. What is wanted is capital to secure it, and intelligence to apply it in the right direction. If, in opposition to this view of the case, it be said that the produce exported from the colonies has been greatly reduced under the free system, we admit it. But this does not prove that there is less available labour than heretofore, it simply indicates that certain causes have been in operation to bring about this result. To those who have closely studied the question, those causes are obvious enough. Let any one look through the parliamentary reports, which, from year to year, have been laid before the Legislature, and he will not fail to perceive, that the legislation which ushered in the epoch of complete freedom, and the flagrant injustice which marked the conduct of too many of the planters, begot a spirit of resistance and estrangement, the effects of which are visible at this hour. It was this treatment of the emancipated classes which drove a large number of them from the estates, which led to the formation of independent and free villages, and to the purchase of considerable lots of land, and consequently decreased the amount of sugar cultivation. The number of freeholds purchased since emancipation,

in Jamaica, is nearly 20,000, and in British Guiana nearly 5,000, other colonies in proportion.

To the unwise course referred to, many be added the almost unparalleled droughts which raged for several years in the largest sugar colonies; and the inability of a large body of planters to secure by regular money-payments, the services of the labourers which surround them. It must not from this remark, however, be inferred, that the cost of labour is high. We have before us a large body of evidence on this point, recently obtained from the West Indies and Guiana, which shows that labour is, and may be had, on moderate terms. In Jamaica, wages range from 1s. to 1s. 6d. *per diem*; in British Guiana, from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 8d. *per diem*; and in Trinidad, from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 8d. *per diem*, for the first class labourers. When work is performed by the job the labourers can earn more; but the rates of wages are falling generally in the colonies; and again we assert, that capital and not labour is the principal thing wanted, to secure what, it is said, is so much coveted. Of course we do not shut out from our consideration the serious disadvantages resulting from the non-residence of proprietors; and that, under the present expensive system of management, or rather mismanagement, much capital is wasted that might be most beneficially employed; nor do we forget the difficulties, almost amounting to resistance, thrown in the way of agricultural improvements by men of the old school, whose influence is too much felt and feared in the emancipated colonies. But there is a cure we trust for these evils, for wiser men, and better habits are beginning to appear. The old system it is found will not do. The practice of slavery and the privileges of freedom will not coalesce. Most heartily do we hope, that those at present interested in plantation property may be wise in time, and yield to the exigencies of their position. Those who happily have done so, are reaping a rich harvest as the reward of their practical sagacity, and they have already demonstrated that the cost of production by free men is much less than that by slaves.

As to any serious loss having been sustained by the West India body, as a whole, by emancipation, we are more than sceptical. Individuals may have suffered from it, but we believe them to be few in number. And more than this, we affirm, that their losses, in the great majority of cases, have resulted from other causes than the abolition of slavery, such as heavy mortgages which they could not pay off, even with the aid of the compensation money allowed them; the exhausted soil, or the unfavourable situation of their estates; and the dogged resistance they have offered to the new order of things. But, making every allowance that can be fairly claimed for individual cases, we observe, that if there has been a diminished export of produce since the period of complete emancipation, it has been more than compensated by enhanced prices. The average price of sugar during the four last years of slavery was 27s. 6d. *per cwt.*; the average price during the six years of complete freedom has been about 39s. 1d. *per cwt.* But not to dwell on the point, it is now clear that production reached its lowest point in 1841, when the amount of sugar exported to Great Britain was 2,148,218 cwt.; in 1844, 2,503,567 cwt., exclusive of the quantity imported from Mauritius and the East Indies; and this year, there can be no doubt, from the advices which have been received, that the quantity of sugar exported to Great Britain will be much larger than at any period since the abolition of slavery took place. Indeed, we may say, that the cry now is, not so much for labour for ordinary, as for extraordinary, purposes. The planters complain that they have not enough hands to take off their crops; they want continuous labour, that is, they want during the season of crop, their labourers to work from sixteen to eighteen hours a day, which few of them will consent to do, occupying as it does from five to six months in the year. But even in this case, arrangement and not labour is the thing principally required.

We have dwelt longer on this subject probably than it deserves, and we therefore turn from it to contemplate once more the vast blessing which has been conferred on upwards of 700,000 human beings, by the great act of emancipation. The whip no longer sounds in their ears, as the stimulant to labour and the instrument of torture; the fetter no longer galls their limbs; the marketplace no longer beholds them submitted for sale, in lots to suit purchasers; the anguish of forcible separation is no longer felt or feared; instruction is no longer interdicted; the preaching of the gospel is no longer forbidden. Masters of their own persons and their own labour, the emancipated slaves can now bestow it when and where they please, as may best suit their taste, or serve their interests—the marriage-tie hallows and blesses their unions—the relations of parents and children exist, and cannot be severed by the caprice or will of slave-masters—the chastity of woman can no longer be violated with impunity, nor the hearts of mothers lacerated by the base and degraded uses to which their offspring were devoted. These are some of the results of emancipation. And let it be remembered, that the liberty which has been conferred, with all its present and future privileges and blessings on the existing generation, will be transmitted to their children, and their children's children, to the remotest generations. It were to view this great subject in its lowest and most sordid light to make the measure of its necessity and value to depend on the amount of exportable produce raised in the British colonies. Yet what was sound in morals, has been found wise in policy. What would have been the condition of the West India body at this time had not the abolition of slavery taken place? In 1832, they were on the verge of ruin, their credit in the money-market utterly gone; and their slaves decreasing at the rate of 5000 per annum. They had stimulated

production by the most cruel means to its utmost limit, to cover the interest due on the vast mortgage-debts to creditors in the mother-country, and to meet the current expenditure of their estates; and with what effect, let Lord Stanley answer. "In all the islands," he said, in 1832, "there had been a general increase in the production of sugar, and a corresponding decrease in the amount of the labouring population." His Lordship illustrated his statement by facts, drawn from official records; for instance, the medium slave-population, in Jamaica, during the three years ending June, 1826, was 334,393, and the average quantity of sugar raised was 1,354,488 cwts. The medium population during three years ending June, 1832 was 327,464, the average amount of sugar raised was 1,410,026 cwts. ! Demerara showed a more frightful result. For the first period referred to, the slave-population was 72,722, the quantity of sugar raised 652,336 cwts. ; for the second period, the population had decreased to 67,741, and they were compelled to produce 806,120 cwts. of sugar ! Now, what did emancipation do when it arrested in its course this murderous system ? Did it complete the ruin of the West India body ? No ! It restored their lost credit. It took from them the weapon with which they were destroying themselves ; and we venture to say, that were the alternative placed before them this hour, of returning to the system which has been abolished, they would utterly refuse it on the mere ground of pecuniary gain. But slavery has been abolished throughout the British colonies, and the songs of freemen have succeeded the wailings of slaves. The rights of humanity have been vindicated—the demands of justice have been met—and the claims of religion have been regarded ; the person, the liberty, the property of the late slave have been declared inviolable ; and now, under the protection of impartial law, he can sit as a free man beneath the shade of his own palm-tree—"none daring to make him afraid."

MAURITIUS—IMMIGRATION.

It has always been one among many weighty objections on our part to the systematic emigration of the Indian peasantry to Mauritius, that no real freedom of choice could be secured to them on their arrival in that island. This point has been strongly contested with us by the advocates of the measure. Even the noble lord lately at the head of the colonial department has loudly affirmed that a free choice both of employment and employer *could* be secured to the labourer, and that, by regulations which he would frame and enforce it *should* be so. Accordingly we have had regulations without number. And supplementary regulations and enactments have emanated from the local government of Mauritius, intended in good faith, we doubt not, to prevent or put a stop to the various artifices by which every antecedent set of rules had been rendered void. Everything, in a word, may be deemed to have been done which regulations and government agents can do to secure that freedom of choice which is admitted on all hands to be necessary in order to prevent the immigration system from acquiring much of the character of a practical slave-trade. Well, what is the result ? How are things now managed ? And how far can the immigrants be now said freely to choose their employment and employers ?

To these questions, vitally important as they are, we are by no means enabled to give a full and satisfactory answer. Some information in relation to them, however, may be gleaned from a letter in the *Cerneen* of the 12th of August, to which we referred in our last number. It is signed A PLANTER, and is intended to show what the planters generally have to complain of in the procuring and distribution of immigrant labourers. Let our readers ponder a few of the revelations which this letter contains. The first passage we extract from it is as follows :—

"Knowing that my neighbours and others were in the habit of sending up to India to procure labourers for their respective estates, I determined to adopt their plan, in order to have some chance of having men to replace part of the 400 whose time will shortly expire, and in March last I sent to Calcutta a Sirdar of excellent character, (one of the exceptions to that class of scoundrels ;) but from his having been ten years with me, I was aware that he would be faithful to my interests and to his duty. On his arrival in April, he at once proceeded far up the country, a distance that he was 'three weeks in walking.' There he selected forty able and effective men, as I had cautioned him to be very circumspect, a moderate number, really good, being more useful than a large quantity taken promiscuously. He conducted these men to Calcutta, providing food, &c., for them on their three weeks' march, and then took them to the Government agent, Mr. Caird, for shipment for Mauritius. The Sirdar wore, suspended by a blue ribbon from his neck, a large silver medal which I had given him, in token of my approbation of his good conduct for the ten years that he had faithfully served me ; which fact is engraved on the medal, and which medal, instead of acquiring notice and respect for him, was the cause of his disgrace and disappointment ; for, when the agent saw it, and that he was a Sirdar, he told him that he could not allow him to embark with the men, as he had orders from the Protector at Mauritius, to prevent Sirdars going with the immigrants. My man in vain remonstrated, and my correspondent in Calcutta, who furnished him the necessary funds, gave every assurance and explanation, probably with the purpose of showing that the choice of a master, made under such circumstances, offered these Coolies better security than if made at the depôt, and that moreover, should they within forty-eight hours after their arrival, change their mind, they would be perfectly at liberty to take service with any other master,) but without effect. The agent would not allow him to embark with them. The man, in his anxiety to insure his passage, and knowing that everything was done by bribery with the natives of India, had the simplicity to offer some fifty rupees to the agent, to permit him to go with his men. Mr. Caird angrily turned him out of his office, having first made him sign some paper (to what purport he knows not,) and finally forbade his embarka-

tion. The captain of the ship, who had received the immigrants, knowing all the circumstances, and being a personal friend of mine, took him on board as his servant, and landed him here. It appears that there were other Sirdars disguised as Coolies, embarked with the other men ; and here is the trick ! My Sirdar, who, after a fatiguing journey at considerable expense, collected and brought to the agent forty men expressly chosen by him, and who but for him would have remained at home, openly and honestly stated the exact truth, and was forbidden to embark with them, whilst these forty men were sold by the disguised Sirdars, and their depôt accomplices to the highest bidder. So I lost my men, my money, and almost my temper. 'This is my case,' as the lawyers say."

And a very pretty case it is, not merely with respect to the individual, but more especially with respect to the system it discloses. It is, it seems, the general practice of the Mauritius planters, not to apply at the depôt in that island for such immigrants as may be willing to serve them, but to send Sirdars to India, to scour the country in all directions, and to engage labourers for their particular estates. Of course, to carry out this system it is necessary that the Sirdars should accompany those they have hired through the voyage, and land at Mauritius with them in charge. This, however, is forbidden by the regulations, as an obvious interference with the liberty of the emigrants ; so that a person appearing as a Sirdar would be, and in the case before us was, refused a passage. But this is nothing to the honest planters of Mauritius, who, in the teeth of the regulation, direct the Sirdars employed by them to disguise themselves as Coolies, and so to effect their unlawful purpose. "Here is the trick !" says the correspondent of the *Cerneen* very justly, his chagrin at his own disappointment inducing him to tell so much of the truth concerning his fellow-planters ; and a trick it is, by which all the good intentions of the government, whether in England or Mauritius, are completely frustrated.

What the proceedings of these Sirdars are in India, in the process of collecting Coolies, does not appear, although it may easily be conjectured ; but what is disclosed of their doings at Mauritius deserves to be carefully noted. "These forty men," says A PLANTER, speaking of those whom his Sirdar had collected, "were sold by the disguised Sirdars, and their depôt accomplices, to the highest bidder." Will our readers mark and ponder these expressions ? They are not ours, but those of a correspondent of the *Cerneen*, the organ and thorough-going advocate of the planters, and inserted not only without any sign of contradiction or qualification, but with a general expression of approbation. The depôt at Mauritius is a place to which Indian immigrants are conducted, under a profession of being enabled to make a free choice among such employers as may desire their services. But the process which is actually effected there is of a very different kind. Of the number of Coolies there at any given period, a part are under the charge of keepers, who deliver them without any questions, like gangs of slaves,—and contrary, we believe, to the provisions of the contract ordinance,—to specific planters, for whose service they are destined. For the disposal of the rest, there exists a system of artifice and fraud, by which, according to A PLANTER, they are "sold to the highest bidder." The meaning of this is, that, with the complicity of the functionaries at the depôt, the Sirdars who happen to be within it contrive to place themselves between the labourers and the employers, preventing all direct intercourse between them, and so getting the disposal of them into their own hands. No planter can get labourers unless he says to a Sirdar, "I will give you so much a head for them ;" and no immigrant can get an employer but by the Sirdar directing him to one. The depôt thus becomes a regular market for human beings, where eager planters bid one against another for the bodies and souls of men ; and where men, women, and children are, for the money so offered, and without any consent of their own, handed over to their purchasers. A PLANTER states that, of the immigrants by the *Atlet Rohoman*, 180 men, besides women and children, were thus sold in the depôt at five dollars a head. Is this less than a practical slave-trade ?

A very grave part of this abominable state of things is the alleged complicity of the functionaries of the depôt. Whether any persons higher than the rank of doorkeepers may be involved in this charge we know not ; but even the doorkeepers of the depôt are servants of the government, and care should be taken by superior officers that they do their duty. Of the tricks which are systematically carried on there, the letter of A PLANTER affords an instructive sample, in connexion with a fact we have already cited. The entire statement is as follows :—

"A self-appointed Sirdar, who arrived by the *Atlet Rohoman*, was permitted within the depôt to sell 180 men, besides women and children, at five rupees a-head, as was there reported, and universally believed, because those who had offered a little short of that sum lost them. But remark, Mr. Editor, this self-made Sirdar was neither more nor less than a former peon and doorkeeper at the depôt, a former servant of the Protector himself, in his public capacity. He showed a certificate to several of his dupes, of his having formerly belonged to the depôt. Now see his trick ; he enters into this speculation with others at the depôt, (that I have no doubt of,) gets his discharge, goes up to Calcutta, finds a ship full of men, enters as a Coolie, and comes down, with all the impudence in the world, to the very depôt he had left ; where he is known by everybody, and must, I presume, be known to the Protector himself ; and there he audaciously sells the men at five rupees a head !"

To this individual case may be added the following graphic sketch of the *tout ensemble* of an act of immigrant distribution at Mauritius. A PLANTER assures us that it is repeated every time a ship arrives :—

"Look at the system at the depôt at this moment. Can anything be

more shameful? Are there any such scenes enacted in any civilised country? At the distribution of the immigrants who arrived by the *Atlet Rohoman*, the rush to get in, in order to procure a few of these people, the uproar of sixty planters, more or less, and their sixty interpreters all bawling out together, were really frightful. Impudent fellows belonging to the depot digging their elbows in your sides, and puffing their segars in your face, each pushing and squeezing to get near the bar, or rail, which divides the crowd from the Coolies, in order to address the latter; they, the Coolies, staring with astonishment at the frantic antics of their excited visitors, wondering what could be the matter, and hardly conceiving that they could be the cause of such extraordinary riot and confusion; others, with their usual spathy, seated smoking their hubble-bubbles, and beating their tam-tams, perfectly indifferent to the Bartholomew-fair row before them. Such was the picture. Here you would see a planter, distressed for labourers, dreading the loss of his crop, holding up a bag of rupees to the selling Sirdars and interpreters; others outbidding him, with a handful of bank-notes,—all perhaps borrowed at twelve per cent,—thus accelerating their ruin, and all screaming out, trying to be heard, amidst this din of Babel. At length the division takes place, nobody knows how, and out are ejected the different bands, nobody knows to whom, until you behold those who bribed highest walking off with them. The disappointed stare foolishly at each other, many duped out of their money cursing the cunning Sirdar who has tricked them. The immigrants, Sirdars and all, quickly disappear, and the Protector, shutting the gates, closes this eventful scene."

"Can anything be more shameful?" The question is well put; and let it be remembered that it is put by a Mauritian planter. What bitter mockery do these undesigned revelations cast upon the entire system of government regulations and agencies, from which Lord Stanley would insist upon it the friends of humanity ought to expect so much. A deputation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee told him at the commencement that nothing effectual could be expected from them, and here is an unquestionable confirmation of their words. How long will the government of Great Britain continue a system, which repeated experience has demonstrated they cannot prevent from degenerating into profligate and scandalous fraud, and upon which even Mauritian planters cry out shame?

TREATMENT OF BRITISH SUBJECTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE following narrative has been furnished us by the Rev. Hope H. Waddell, late missionary in the island of Jamaica, who has now devoted himself to the same noble service in Africa. It reveals the indignities to which her Majesty's subjects are compelled to submit, when the tincture of their skin is darker than that of the proud republicans of North America. We observe, however, that this treatment of our fellow-subjects is contrary to our treaties with the United States, as well as to the comity of nations, and that a decided effort should be made by the British Government to remedy so serious an evil. What would be said if a law were passed and acted upon by this country to imprison and sell every American slaveholder who, by accident or on his lawful occasions, visited our shores? Yet such a law exists in the Southern slave-states against the coloured portion of our countrymen, and has been acted upon on several occasions, and the probability is that, at this very moment, there are British subjects held in slavery in those states, whose only crime is their colour. Shall this treatment of our countrymen be allowed to continue?

"Sailed with my family from Montego Bay, Jamaica, on Saturday, the 11th of January, in the American schooner *Weymouth*, Nelson Jarvis master, for New York. My family consisted of my wife, four young children, and a maid servant of the coloured class, named Frances Moulton, aged between eleven and twelve years. On the night of the 12th our vessel struck on the reef at the east end of Grand Cayman. Next morning both crew and passengers got ashore in safety, but the vessel was lost. After remaining at that place ten days, and having no other way of getting from it, we took passage in the schooner *Commerce*, bound for New Orleans, Parsons master and owner.

"On the 4th of February we anchored in the Mississippi, opposite the fore-mentioned city. The harbour-master, on coming on board, observed the girl Frances Moulton, and inquired if she was a slave or free, where she came from, &c. I told him that she was a free girl, a native of Jamaica, a British subject, and my servant. He informed me that her coming to that city was against their laws, and would subject her to imprisonment, and that he must report her to the recorder.

"Having ascertained who the British consul for that city was, I waited on him, stated the case, and requested his interference on behalf of the girl, who had committed no crime to subject her to imprisonment. He held out no hopes of her being exempted from the application of the law, said that he had no power in such cases, and that he had failed to obtain any relaxation of the law in similar cases on former occasions. On my urgent solicitation, however, he gave me a letter to the mayor of the city, requesting as a favour that the law might not be enforced against our servant, in consideration not only for the unfortunate circumstance which forced us to put into that port, but also for her tender years, and her being engaged in waiting on children, who might suffer from the loss of her services.

"With this letter I proceeded to wait on the mayor, who, having read it, sent me to the recorder. When this gentleman perused it,

he expressed his fears that he could do nothing in our favour, as their laws on the subject were imperative, and admitted of no exception. I pressed on his attention that she was a free-born British subject, that she had not come of her own accord, but under my care, and compelled by unavoidable circumstances; that I would be responsible for her good conduct while in their city, and would leave it by one of the first vessels for Great Britain; and that it would be very harsh, and would tell very badly in Britain, and all over the world, to imprison so young a creature for so small a cause as her accidental touching on their shores. In reply he said he would consult the district attorney; that I must appear and produce the girl in his office next morning, at eight o'clock, and that in the meantime he would issue no order for her arrest.

"Next morning I waited on him with the girl. He said he would mitigate the application of the law so far as to give us time to leave the state without troubling her. She was then measured, and her height, with a minute description of her person entered in a book, which she was required to sign, binding herself to quit the state within sixty days under the penalty of a year's imprisonment. She wrote her name, as desired, and we quitted the office. Ten days after, that is, the 15th of February, I took passage on board the *Miltiades*, Captain Gowan, for Liverpool, where we arrived on the 29th March.

"NOTE.—Captain Parsons, the owner of the vessel, was also required to appear and give some account of himself for having brought the girl in his vessel, as he also was liable to heavy penalties for transgressing the laws of the state of Louisiana. He lives at George Town, Grand Cayman."

JAMAICA.—COOLIE IMMIGRATION.

AT a meeting of the "Baptist Western Union," held at Mount Carey, on the 5th day of November, 1845, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1. That this meeting has heard with indignation and alarm, that proposals have been made in the Hon. House of Assembly, for the introduction of a large number of Hill Coolies, and expresses its decided and well-matured opinion, an opinion formed after the most deliberate thought and observation, that this step is fraught with the deepest injury to all classes of the island;—that this measure is as unnecessary as it is unjust; that there is not a want of labourers, but a want of capital in the island; and they therefore call upon the friends of freedom and of man, both here and in the mother country, to unite in preventing the accomplishment of a scheme which, while it will impoverish the resources of the island, will entail licentiousness and crime upon its inhabitants.

2. That this meeting declares its full conviction, that all the past schemes of immigration carried out by the House of Assembly, while they have been characterized by extravagance, injustice, and cruelty, have entirely failed, and that they can anticipate no better result from the introduction of the demoralized and degraded Hill Coolies.

3. That as Christian ministers, we cannot but view with dismay a measure which is sure to produce the same disgusting vice that has degraded Demerara and the Mauritius, and so calculated to impede the progress of morals and religion in the island, and to destroy many of the benefits conferred upon the agricultural labourers by the glorious act of Emancipation.

That these resolutions be published twice in the Baptist Herald, and ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

WALTER DENDY, Chairman.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

NOTICE is hereby given to the Friends and Subscribers of the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER, that from and after the 1st January, 1846, it will be issued MONTHLY instead of fortnightly, as at present, and that whilst it will be increased to double its present size, its price, with a view to its increased circulation, both at home and abroad, will be reduced to FIVE SHILLINGS per annum, payable in advance if ordered through the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 27, NEW BROAD-STREET, LONDON. The REPORTER can be ordered also through the usual Newsvendors.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, DECEMBER 24, 1845.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society beg to call the attention of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause generally to the annexed advertisement, which indicates the intended alteration in the time of issue of the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER. Hitherto it has appeared every fortnight, but from the beginning of the next year, 1846, it will be issued on the first of every month, except, of course, when it falls on a Sunday. The price, it will be seen, is to be reduced from eight shillings and eightpence, to five

shillings per annum. The Committee hope by this means greatly to increase its home circulation, and to be enabled thereby to cover the expense connected with a large gratuitous foreign circulation; they would, therefore, respectfully and earnestly urge on the attention of the Ladies' and Gentlemen's Auxiliary Associations, and their friends everywhere throughout the country, the necessity and importance of obtaining additional subscribers for the ensuing year. The Committee will use their best exertions to improve as far as possible this organ of the Society, and to render it worthy, in every respect, of the great cause it has hitherto so efficiently served. The Committee will be happy to learn that their friends have taken this subject under their special care, and would add, that lists of subscribers should be forwarded to the office agreeably to the terms specified in the advertisement. The REPORTER will contain every species of information, of material importance, on slavery and the slave-trade, and the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause throughout the world. It need scarcely be asserted, that that cause stands intimately associated with the progress of knowledge, civilization, and religion amongst men, and deserves the enlightened and warm-hearted support of every friend of humanity.

We give, as reported in the papers, the legal proceedings which have been taken in relation to that part of the crew of the *Caroline* alleged to be slaves. We are, as may naturally be supposed, in possession of full information on the subject; but we do not deem it prudent, at the present moment, to enter into further explanation.

THE West India mail has brought the painful intelligence of the decease of the Rev. W. Knibb, at his residence at Kettering, near Falmouth, Jamaica, on the 15th of November. He died of yellow fever, after an illness of four days. His loss will be severely felt in many respects; but to us it belongs only to observe how heavily it will fall on the cause of humanity, freedom, and happiness in Jamaica. We are happy to perceive, by the account in the *Falmouth Post*, that the afflictive event has drawn forth an unequivocal testimony of respect from all classes, not excepting those who, on points connected with slavery, have been most violently opposed to him. Our pages will contain some further notice of this distinguished and extraordinary man.

The other contents of the mail are not of great importance. In Jamaica, the House of Assembly have unanimously voted the introduction of 5000 Coolies during the ensuing year. Some resolutions, which will be found advertised in our columns, show that the baptist missionaries are alive to the importance of the subject; and the language of the *Falmouth Post* shows that the difference of opinion upon it is by no means confined to that body. This journal says:—"For our own part, we candidly confess that we entertain great doubts as to the policy of this project. We have already shown that an export tax will bear heavily on recent purchasers of estates, who, at the time they effected their purchases, did not calculate on this increase of expenditure. We also think that the colony will reap but little good from a limited emigration, and especially from the emigration of a class of men who cannot be prevailed upon to remain more than three or five years from their native land. If, as we said in a late number, it is indispensably necessary that we should resort to *foreign* labour, we must, to make it *effectual*, have it in abundance, and of a *permanent* character. Hence our preference to machinery." A memorial to the queen, for a system of representative government, has been adopted in Trinidad. According to the *Trinidad Standard*, it is in the contemplation of the home government shortly to discontinue the stipendiary system, or, at least, to hand over the paid magistrates to the colonies for support. We find intimated in another paper a design to introduce the clergy of the Church of England into the magistracy. Both these measures must be pronounced very bad—we scarcely know which of them the worst. The drought by which, more or less severely, a large part of the West Indies has been affected, has become so intense in British Guiana as to constitute a very heavy calamity. We have gleaned a few other particulars from the papers for our colonial intelligence.

The most interesting fact communicated to us by the American papers is, that the movement against the admission of Texas into the Union as a slave state, is carried on with great spirit. The effort has given birth to a newspaper, called "The Free State Rally, or Texan Chain-breaker," a small sheet issued at Boston weekly, or oftener, until the question is decided. It is full of energy, and must have a powerful influence. We give the following as a specimen of its contents:—

"THE CONSEQUENCES.—Texas contains an immense area of land, so fertile that it has been called the garden spot of the world, ready to yield even to slovenly labour the richest productions of the torrid zone. Fearfully for the slave does it resemble those countries which for ages have sucked the life-blood of Africa, and made the Atlantic waves vocal with the groans of the 'middle passage.' Its population under the slave system will create an insatiable demand for slaves to be supplied from

abroad. Whence shall they come? Our own law makes the trans-ocean traffic piracy. The moral and physical energies of the civilized world are combined to sweep it from the ocean. There is but one source open; that, however, is protected from the interference of mercy by the entire power of this nation; it is the traffic with our northern slaveholding States, where the breeding of slaves for a more southern market has already become more lucrative than any other business. It is extreme folly to believe that, as agriculture decays, and the demand for slaves increases, and the breeding of them becomes more lucrative, the people of these states will become more ready to quit it; that as this 'virginal crop,' as Mr. Faulkner called it in the Virginia legislature in 1832, becomes more and more their staple, they will sell off the very means of continuing it. It is a plain triumph of wickedness over weakness, to convince any honest mind, that the annexation of Texas as a slave-state can by any possibility have the slightest tendency to diminish slavery, either in the whole, or any portion of this or any other country; on the contrary, nothing can be conceived which would more powerfully tend to increase both the extent and horrors of the system. It converts the very heart of our country, the birth State of our Washington, into a Guinea coast, where the minions of Mammon, who coin dollars out of violated affections, instead of having to run the gauntlet of African war, and pestilence, and British cruisers, shall operate at their ease, under the protection of what is called law, as if they were dealing in sheep or swine. It is just as if the enlightened slave-holders of Virginia and Maryland were to transfer themselves in a mass to Africa, buy out the petty chiefs of Congo, and in their stead sell off the poor people out of their huts to be consumed on Texas cotton and sugar-fields. Rather it is just as if, now that the slave-drivers of Brazil, Martinique, and Cuba find it difficult to supply the consumption of their plantations from Africa, we were to say to them, 'Only transfer yourself to the virgin soil of Texas, and we will supply you with any quantity of victims.' Is this doing any less to sustain and perpetuate slavery, than it would be to abolish our law declaring the foreign slave-trade felonious, and, in spite of Europe and Heaven, to supply the same planters with African victims where they are? Were it proposed to relinquish our country's share in that glorious achievement of humanity, won by Wilberforce and Clarkson, and give full license to our shipping to enter into the African slave-trade, under the protection of our national flag, would not the press and the pulpit speak? Would the Christianity, would the humanity, would the patriotism, would the common honesty of the North let that question pass to the irrevocable vote in Congress, without a united shout and thunder of remonstrance loud enough to penetrate the very graves? And yet this is practically that question."

We have inserted to-day a paper on the results of Emancipation in the British Colonies, a subject of paramount interest and importance, not only as presenting to the British nation the issue of a great act of justice done by them, but as constituting a standard by which other nations are judging of the practicability and utility of abolishing slavery. What we have inserted is part—the principal part, however—of a small paper which has recently been prepared by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and which may be had in any quantity for distribution by our friends, on application at the office.

Home Intelligence.

THE CREW OF THE CAROLINE.

(From the Times.)

THAMES POLICE OFFICE, DEC. 10.

Soon after Mr. Broderip had taken his seat, Inspector Maddox, of the Thames division, reported that he had, in pursuance of the magistrate's directions, been on board the ship *Anne*, in the eastern London Dock, and from the inquiries he had made, it did not appear that any of the men were in a state of slavery, or that any murder had been committed on board the *Caroline*, as was alleged by Sir George Stephen, when he applied to his worship on Monday. There was no reason to believe that the men had been used with cruelty in general; but one or two of the men had been flogged by the captain's orders, for pawing their clothes, and getting drunk with the money. Sir George Stephen, and some other gentlemen connected with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Association, had seen the Arabs on board, and conversed with them, but only four had taken advantage of the offer made to them to be sent back to Zanzibar. The others were content to remain on board the *Anne*, until the repairs of the *Caroline* were completed, when they would return to their own country.

Mr. Broderip.—Were the men made acquainted with the fact that they were free agents here, and that they could come to this court and make their complaints?

Maddox.—Yes, sir. I told them distinctly the magistrate would hear any complaints, if they had any to make.

Mr. Broderip.—Had they any grievances to complain of?

Maddox.—None at all, sir.

Sir George Stephen waited upon the magistrate just before half-past one o'clock, and stated that he was anxious to let the court know the result of its interference, and thought it would be more satisfactory and respectful to the magistrate that he should do so openly. He felt very grateful to the magistrate for the kind assistance afforded him, and it would be duly appreciated by all persons interested in the abolition of slavery. Upon going on board the *Anne*, he found a crew of black people, and he had the slaves separated from the others; and all on board, with the exception of three, were examined through the medium of an interpreter. One man, who understood a little English, was also questioned, and he fully confirmed the statement made by Grant, that twenty of the crew were slaves, and had been very much ill-used. The general

appearance of the food was satisfactory, but as regarded the clothing, the men were in a very dreadful condition. They had no clothing suitable for a northern climate, and suffered much from the cold and dampness of the weather. A majority of the men were in a very dejected state of mind. He ascertained that her Majesty's Government had provided the men with clothing, and they had pawned the things to procure food. He asked them all if they wished to return to Zanzibar, and four only availed themselves of the offer he made to send them back. They said they wished to join their wives and families in their own country. Some were afraid they would obtain a bad character, if they did not return in the *Caroline*. The whole of the slaves were very apprehensive and distrustful, a feature of slavery wherever it was found. He intended to repeat the communication he had already made to the slaves, and he had made arrangements for lodging the four slaves, who wished to leave the *Anne*, in the Sailors' Asylum, till he could ship them for Zanzibar. He had only one other remark to make. He had received a letter from Messrs. Freshfield and Co., solicitors of the consigners, stating that they intended to present themselves in that court at half-past one o'clock, to meet any charge he had to make. He disclaimed any intention to make a charge against the consignees or any one else. He was not in a condition to do so. There was a case of murder, but the magistrate had no jurisdiction over it. He would pledge himself that one of the slaves had been murdered on board the *Caroline*, and if the magistrate had the power to investigate the charge, he would establish it by evidence. He attended at the instance of the Anti-Slavery Association, to afford protection to a number of unhappy strangers. He felt it was a gross insult to every Englishman to bring slaves here, and he was quite sure, if our excellent Queen had known that the ship which brought over the presents from the Imaum of Muscat had been navigated by slaves, she would have rejected them with contempt.

Mr. Broderip.—The Thames police-inspector has also made a report. He has given the crew of the *Caroline* to understand they are not slaves, and he says they are not ill-treated, and have no complaints to make. He also stated, that some were inclined to go and others to stop. He says there are no grounds whatever for the charge of murder, and that no one has died from violence during the passage.

Sir George Stephen said he had the information from the Englishman, Grant, who was confirmed by another seaman, and also by the ship's carpenter. He was only very sorry he could not bring the case here.

Sir George then retired, and he had not left the court more than ten minutes before a gentleman from the office of Messrs. Freshfield and Co., the solicitors, the Arab captain of the ship (an old man, with a grey beard and mustache,) his son, and several others, entered the court. The Arabs wore very handsome turbans, and their costume was very picturesque. On learning the purport of Sir George Stephen's observations, the Arabs expressed the greatest indignation, and said there were no slaves on board the *Anne*, that no murder had ever been committed, and that the statement of Sir George Stephen was a gross misrepresentation.

Mr. Clarkson, the barrister, soon afterwards made his appearance, and at once proceeded to address the magistrate in refutation of the statement made by Sir George Stephen. He said he had the honour to represent the respectable firm of Freshfield and Co., solicitors to Messrs. Newman, Hunt, and Co., merchants in the city of London. He complained that the public mind had been prejudiced against respectable men, by a most extravagant and unfounded statement of a very extraordinary kind; and he hoped those journals which had circulated the poison, on the authority of a person seeking popularity, would present the antidote to that poison. The *Caroline* was a ship of 600 tons burthen, and belonged to the Imaum of Muscat—a wise and benevolent prince, whose relations with this country were of a most friendly nature. The Imaum had executed treaties with this country to repress slavery, and all his promises and engagements had been executed with the greatest sincerity. There was a most earnest desire on the part of the Imaum of Muscat to repress slavery. The *Caroline* sailed from Zanzibar in March last, with a valuable cargo, and numerous presents for her Majesty the Queen of England. The crew were shipped under articles of agreement, in the ordinary manner. On the arrival of the vessel in London, it was necessary for her to undergo extensive repairs, and the crew were transferred to the *Anne*. The agents for the Imaum of Muscat were Messrs. Newman and Hunt, one of the most respectable firms of the city of London, and the very last persons to have anything to do with slaves and slavery. The crew of the *Caroline* consisted of sixty persons, and, according to the statement of Sir George Stephen, he could only induce four of them to abandon their master and sail in another vessel. He was in a condition to prove the whole of the crew had received their wages, that they had experienced the most humane treatment, and had been supplied by the agents with money and clothes beyond what they were entitled to by the articles. He could find nothing to justify Sir George Stephen in the extraordinary course he had pursued. There had been no ill-usage whatever, except that two of the men had been flogged for pawning their clothes, and procuring spirits with the money raised by them, and that punishment was necessary for the maintenance of proper discipline. Sir George Stephen had erroneously stated that murder had been committed. If murder had been committed, and Sir George was in possession of matter to prove his case, it was a glaring absurdity for him to come before an English magistrate, and tell him he had no jurisdiction. It was really too bad to make such a serious and unfounded charge. Some persons, with a spirit of knight errantry, were constantly seeking adventures, and in their Quixotic adventures did great mischief. Sir George Stephen had conjured up a phantom. Some black men came in this port, and of course they must be slaves, and then a story was told about a murder. The learned counsel proceeded at great length, and in forcible language, to denounce the interference of Sir George Stephen, which was quite uncalled for. There had not been a single death on board the *Caroline* during the whole voyage, either from accident, violence, or any other cause. The men were free agents, at liberty to go where they pleased. There had been no illness on board, and the men were all contented. The Quixotic knight-errant, Sir George Stephen, who was always running after adventures of this kind, fancied that every man whose arm was locked in another's was a slave; he had been on board the *Anne*, and endeavoured to convince the black men they were slaves, and offered them all a passage. He could get but four to desert the vessel; but Messrs. Newman and Hunt would

be much obliged to him if he would maintain them all, and provide them with a passage. He was welcome to them all. The master and his son, the English sailing-master of the vessel, the assistant sailing-master, also an Englishman, and several of the crew were in attendance, and most anxious to be examined. He was satisfied the statements that had gone forth to the public would ultimately do no injury to any one, except the person who so rashly made them.

Mr. Broderip reiterated the statements made by Sir George Stephen, and the officer Maddox, and said it was contrary to his practice, and it ought to be contrary to the practice of all justices to hear *ex-parte* statements, in cases over which they had no control; but Sir George Stephen had made a complaint that men were in this port in a state of slavery, and he should have been wanting in his duty to the public, if he had not directed an officer to inform the men of their relative position. Before Sir George Stephen came into the court, the inspector made a report, which exculpated the master, and he negatived the assertion that a murder had been committed. Sir George Stephen still laboured under an idea the men were slaves, and they had been told by the officer that the moment they touched the English soil they were free.

Mr. Clarkson.—Slaves, indeed! The captain of a slave, who would bring his slaves into the port of London, must be as excited as Sir George Stephen. (A laugh.)

Mr. Broderip said he had heard Mr. Clarkson with much pleasure and satisfaction, and that he would not, after this, suffer the court to be made the arena of such discussions.

Mr. Clarkson.—It is a very serious thing for such a charge to go out, and I hope Sir George Stephen will be more careful in future.

The parties then left the court.

In relation to this report, Sir George Stephen addressed the following letter to the Editor of the *Times*:—

Sir,—In reference to the importance of the subject, I shall feel obliged to you to allow me to correct your Thames Police report of yesterday, in a few particulars.

I informed the magistrate that I had ascertained that the slaves had received rations from Government, but that they had previously pawned their clothes to obtain food, and were now in a state of destitution; most of them having on no other clothing than an old blanket and a woollen cap.

I also distinctly informed the magistrate, and I now repeat the statement, which a gentleman who informed me that he was your reporter had an opportunity of confirming, by personally examining the witness himself, that according to the information I had received, one of the slaves had been murdered on the voyage: this, according to your report, appears to be contradicted by the inspector, Mr. Maddox; and Mr. Maddox's contradiction also appears to have been received by the magistrate with more credit than my accusation.

You may judge for yourself which of our reports is most deserving of credit, when I add, that there is only one of the slaves who can talk English, and that all the rest speak Arabic or Persian, and can only be understood through an interpreter; the interpreter and the slave who spoke English, were engaged with me during the whole time that Maddox was on board, and that officer did not exchange a single word with any one of the slaves, or through the interpreter: there were four gentlemen with me who can confirm my assertion; nor was the captain himself able to speak a word of English; upon what authority, therefore, Maddox could make the report which he appears to have made to the magistrate, I am at a loss to conceive; but I think that you will agree with me that official men ought to be more cautious both in making and in receiving reports upon such important matters.

I will state to you the real facts, as they have been given to me by the witness Grant, and confirmed by the slave who spoke English, so far as I could understand him.

About two days' sail from the Island of Ascension, Abdullah, the slave who was killed, was engaged on some duty, which the boatswain reproved him for doing negligently, threatening at the same time to give him the rope's end; Abdullah answered insolently, and the boatswain struck him with his fist on the face; Abdullah threatened to return the blow, and the boatswain then immediately went aft, and reported him to the captain; the captain called three of his own slaves, and directed one of them to throw the man down, and sit upon his neck, while the other two slaves were ordered to "champoo" him, a process, as I understand, often made subservient to severe punishment. The slaves kneaded the poor creature with their knees and elbows for ten minutes: he was then released, and with great difficulty crawled to his berth; within an hour, my informant found him throwing up blood in considerable quantities, and though, previously to the operation, he had been in perfect health, and a good sailor, he died within twenty-five hours, and within two hours more his body was thrown overboard. The mate, who was an Englishman, reproached the captain (or supercargo, as he is sometimes called,) with causing the man's death, and my informant appeals to him to corroborate the whole story, as they both witnessed the transaction. When I went on board the *Anne* on Monday last, I asked the captain what had become of Abdullah, my object being to observe whether he met the inquiry with confusion. He certainly was agitated by the question, and answered, after some hesitation, "He has deserted." I was present when all the facts were stated yesterday by Abraham Grant to your reporter.

If Mr. Clarkson wishes to know my reason for mentioning that murder had been committed on board, it is because I was anxious to convince the magistrate that there did exist a state of things which loudly called for interposition; nor do I perceive any "absurdity" in my doing so; but had your reporter done me justice, he would also have quoted my remark to the magistrate, that I purposely refrained from mentioning the name of the party implicated, because the case not being within his jurisdiction, I was unable to make any legal accusation.

I shall also be obliged to you to mention, that I deferred my attendance on the magistrate from twelve o'clock to half-past one, with great inconvenience to myself, on purpose to keep the appointment which Messrs. Freshfield and Sons had made with me for that hour; I then waited

nearly ten minutes, and as nobody attended from their office, I felt at liberty to proceed. If Mr. Clarkson really made the remarks given in your report, and in the tone which is implied, it would have been more manly to have refrained from such personalities, till he had the opportunity of making them to my face; and it would equally have consisted with the magisterial dignity had Mr. Broderip suspended his determination "not to suffer the Court to be made the arena of such discussions any more," till he had ascertained with greater certainty whether he may not yet find himself compelled to investigate the matter further.

I am fully aware that all personalities proceeding from a counsel of Mr. Clarkson's very peculiar celebrity are of so little consideration with the public, as scarcely to deserve even the epithet of "impertinence;" but I must take the liberty of saying that it is contemptibly ungenerous on the part both of Mr. Clarkson and the magistrate to aggravate the difficulties of professional duty, by using, or permitting the use of uncourteous remark. I shall never be deterred by the insulting imputation of a love of notoriety from doing my duty to a client, because that client is a miserable slave; but it happens that in this case my interference has not been spontaneous, for I acted entirely at the suggestion and under the instructions of the Anti-Slavery Society.

I remain, Sir, yours very obediently,

3, Farnival's Inn, Dec. 11.

GEORGE STEPHEN.

There are a few other errors of a trifling character, too unimportant to make it worth while to extend my explanation.

(From the Times.)

MANSION HOUSE, DEC. 16.

Mr. Clarkson, the barrister, after having remained in the justice-room for a considerable time, addressed the Lord Mayor upon the subject of a letter which appeared in a morning newspaper, as an advertisement, imputing to the captain and some of the crew of the *Caroline*, a vessel belonging to the Imaum of Muscat, which arrived with presents from his Highness to the Queen, the crime of murder. An application had, the learned counsel understood, been made on the preceding day to the sitting magistrate, for the purpose of causing an investigation into a charge against Sir George Stephen for having published the libel, under the 6th and 7th of Victoria, cap. 96, sec. 5, entitled An Act to amend the law respecting defamatory words and libel, and enacting, "That if any person shall maliciously publish any defamatory libel, every such person being convicted thereof shall be liable to fine or imprisonment, or both, as the court may award, such imprisonment not to exceed the term of one year." The latter was a report of a reiterated charge of murder, represented at the Thames Police-office, by Sir George Stephen to have been committed upon one Abdallah. In answer to the accusation of having caused to be published the defamatory libel, Sir George Stephen stated that it was his intention to apply to the judges for a writ of *habeas corpus* to bring up the crew before their lordships, the case was necessarily no longer under the jurisdiction of the magistrate, and declined to give his attendance. He (Mr. Clarkson) would not enter into the particulars of the case, further than was necessary to make it intelligible. The Lord Mayor was aware that Sir George Stephen made a charge to the effect that murder had been committed on board the *Caroline* upon one of the slaves, and that the crew, which consisted of slaves, were on board that vessel in the docks. The agents for the Imaum of Muscat—whose authority as a sovereign was recognised in this country, with which his Highness was on terms of perfect amity—being most anxious to ascertain whether there was any foundation for so serious a charge, instituted an inquiry, from which it appeared that there was no ground whatever for the statement; that there were no slaves on board the vessel; that no murder had been committed; that no death, whether by design or accident, had occurred. The denial of the statement was made and established before Mr. Broderip, at the Thames Police-office, in the absence of Sir George Stephen, who failed to keep his appointment before the magistrate. Not content with having insisted subsequently upon the correctness of the accusation, Sir George Stephen published in the *Times* newspaper, as an advertisement, the letter alluded to, which contained, amongst other matter, the following statement:—

"About two days' sail from the Island of Ascension, Abdallah, the slave who was killed, was engaged in some duty, which the boatswain reproved him for doing negligently, threatening at the same time to give him the rope's end. Abdallah answered insolently, and the boatswain struck him with his fist in the face. Abdallah threatened to return the blow, and the boatswain then immediately went aft, and reported him to the captain. The captain called three of his own slaves, and directed one of them to throw the man down and sit upon his neck, while the other two slaves were ordered to 'champoo' him, a process, as I understand, often made subservient to severe punishment. The slaves kneaded the poor creature with their knees and elbows for ten minutes. He was then released, and with great difficulty crawled to his berth; within an hour my informant found him throwing up blood in considerable quantities; and though, previously to the operation, he had been in perfect health, and a good sailor, he deceased within twenty-five hours, and within two hours his body was thrown overboard." Now he (Mr. Clarkson) had the persons to whom the statement first read referred, prepared to come forward, and declare upon oath that the whole of it was an untruth. He did not mean to attribute a knowledge that it was a false statement to Sir George Stephen, but he meant to assert that there was not an atom of foundation for the story itself. It was thought right by the agents of the gentleman who represented the Imaum of Muscat to bring forward the crew of the *Caroline*, who were thus designated slaves and murderers, to make their depositions on oath before the magistrate, in denial of the whole of the circumstances described in Sir George Stephen's letter, and to proceed under the statute of Victoria just quoted from. Sir George Stephen had, as was before stated, declined to attend before his lordship, and intimated his intention to apply to a court of law. That course Sir George Stephen had adopted, and the further proceedings in the case should be reserved for the consideration of the judges, and would, he entertained no doubt, put an end to publications calculated to occasion great distress and annoyance to those upon whom they reflected, and

tended to place the Imaum of Muscat in a false position in the opinion of the people of this country, who knew nothing of his highness that was not calculated to do honour to his character.

The Lord Mayor said the Judges were certainly the authority to which such a subject must most properly be introduced. His Lordship at the same time admitted there was ground for making a statement in contradiction to the contents of the letter before a magistrate.

Mr. Clarkson.—The men are ready to appear before their Lordships, and were here yesterday, prepared to make their statement, when Sir George Stephen, we suppose, was applying for the writs of *habeas corpus*.

(From the Times.)

JUDGES' CHAMBERS, DEC. 20.

In obedience to a writ of *habeas corpus*, obtained at the instance of the Anti-Slavery Association, the crew of the *Caroline*, lying in the East London Docks, consisting of fifteen persons of colour, were brought before Mr. Justice COLERIDGE at chambers this (Saturday) afternoon, with the view of ascertaining from them whether they were detained as slaves in the brig *Anne*, in which they were placed during the repair of the vessel *Caroline*, in which they were brought to this country.

The case has already appeared in the columns of *The Times*, on an application made by Sir George Stephen, as solicitor of the Anti-Slavery Association, to the magistrates of the Thames Police-court. It will be remembered that the vessel *Caroline* brought over some presents to her Majesty from the Imaum of Muscat, and that since its arrival it had been alleged, by a person named Grant, who was one of the crew, that a murder had been committed during the voyage, and that the crew were detained as slaves on board the vessel until they returned to Zanzibar, whence they were shipped.

Sir John Bayley and Mr. Clarkson appeared for the captain of the vessel, of which Messrs. Newman, Hunt, and Co., merchants of London, were the consignees.

Mr. Lush (barrister) and Sir George Stephen represented the Anti-Slavery Association.

Mr. CLARKSON professed his readiness to afford the amplest information to satisfy his lordship and the world that there was not the least pretence to suppose that a murder had been committed, or that the men on board the vessel were slaves. There had been an improper interference in this case by the Anti-Slavery Society, and his Lordship had been induced, on the affidavits of Sir G. Stephen and a person named Grant, to issue the writ for the attendance of the men.

Mr. LUSH demanded a return to be made to the writ.

Mr. CLARKSON replied, that the men would be produced, and his Lordship could satisfy himself whether they were slaves.

Mr. Justice COLERIDGE was of opinion a return should be made.

Mr. CLARKSON undertook, that before the proceedings terminated a return should be regularly made, to the effect that the men were free, and had not been slaves.

After some further discussion, it was arranged that four of the men, who had been brought from the ship in omnibuses, should be brought before his Lordship. Subsequently others were brought into the room, and, eventually, all were admitted. Two interpreters attended.

Mr. Justice COLERIDGE separately examined seven of the crew, including a little boy. His Lordship questioned them in a very searching manner.

The men all stated that they were free, and, as they expressed it, "unslaves." They had come from Zanzibar as sailors, and had agreed to work the vessel back to that place. The little boy was examined, and his paucity of ideas rendered it very difficult to understand what he meant. He said he had been sold for sixteen dollars by his mother, and he afterwards gave a very confused account of himself.

Mr. LUSH asked his Lordship to allow Grant to be examined, as he could make the boy understand.

Mr. CLARKSON said Grant was the person who had made the statement that a murder had been committed.

Grant was called.

Mr. CLARKSON, before he was sworn, asked him whether he was a Mussulman or a Christian.

Grant.—A Christian.

Mr. CLARKSON.—Have you never been a Mussulman?

Grant.—Yes, for a few days I was necessitated to be one.

Mr. Justice COLERIDGE.—What do you mean? Was it for food?

Grant.—It was, my Lord.

Mr. CLARKSON.—Do you believe in Mahomet?

Grant.—I believe in God.

Mr. CLARKSON.—Did you not ride on a white horse, and have money collected for you?

Grant.—I did.

Mr. CLARKSON.—And were you not circumcised?

Grant.—I was.

He was sworn on the New Testament. It turned out that he could not make the boy understand, although he could understand what he said.

His LORDSHIP dispensed with his services.

The examination of the men was continued, his Lordship expressing his readiness to put any question suggested by the learned counsel. They all generally stated that they were freemen. The last who was examined said he had seen Grant, who was one of the crew, pray as a Mussulman, with the Koran before him.

Mr. CLARKSON was anxious that his Lordship should ask whether any one had died on the voyage.

His LORDSHIP put the question, and they all denied that any one had died or been killed. They said that they had been very well treated, and, if they had not been, they should have complained to the law. They denied that any person of the name given by Grant had been on board the vessel.

Sir G. STEPHEN asked his Lordship to inform all the men that they were free persons on coming to England.

His LORDSHIP, who had in the course of the inquiry told them that there were no slaves in this country, requested the interpreters to explain

that slaves, on coming to this country, became free; that the laws of this nation would strike off their fetters when they arrived.

The men all declared they were free. Some of them had holes in their ears, which it was stated were marks of slaves.

The questions were concluded, and the men retired in high glee, wishing his Lordship "good day" as they quitted the room. Their appearance was healthy, and they seemed to have been well fed.

Mr. Justice COLERIDGE, after some discussion, ordered the return to be made to the writ by Tuesday, and it was intimated on the part of the consignees, that his Lordship would be applied to for a summons against the Anti-Slavery Association.

The inquiry was commenced at three, and was not terminated till nearly six o'clock.

Sir G. Stephen was attorney to the Society, and Messrs. Freshfield for the consignees of the vessel.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA.—THE AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS.—A correspondent informs us that some, if not all the Africans, on the estate of Mr. Walcot, in Hanover, are anxious to change their situation. Mr. W. has, however, taken means to prevent them from leaving the property, and has forbidden communication between them and some of their friends upon other properties. Why is this?—*Baptist Herald*.

SUGAR ESTATES.—The House of Assembly has appointed a committee to inquire and report to the House the present state and condition of the several sugar estates throughout the island, compared with their condition prior to the Abolition Act; whether the quantity and quality of produce now manufactured on such estates is greater and better than what was made during the time of slavery, or whether the same has fallen off, and the cause of such falling off.—*Baptist Herald*.

IMMIGRATION.—A meeting has been held in the parish of St. Elizabeth, to petition the House in favour of immigration. If we have been informed aright, we understand that there is not sufficient employment in this parish for the native labourers that are located therein, and that emigration of labourers is more needed than immigration.—*Baptist Herald*.

GRENADA.—CLERICAL JUSTICES.—We have heard it reported within the last few days, that it is in contemplation to associate the clergy of the Church of England in this island in the general commission of the peace. We should hope that this report is not correct.—*Grenada Gazette*.

TRINIDAD.—REFORM.—A memorial to the Queen, praying for a representative form of government for this colony, which has been for some time in course of signature, has been forwarded to his excellency the Governor, for transmission by the next packet to the Secretary of State; 1,540 names are attached to it. Whether we consider the number of the petitioners,—the justness and necessity of their request,—or the unexceptionable terms in which that request is couched, as well as the friendly disposition of the Home Government towards the West India colonies, we are not without some confidence in the result of the present appeal.—*Trinidad Standard*.

BRITISH GUIANA.—IMMIGRATION FROM SIERRA LEONE does not, it must be candidly admitted, wear a very promising aspect. The colony is just now expending its money to little purpose. Two late arrivals from Africa seem to confirm this alarm. To-day the *Rufus* came into our river from Sierra Leone, with 140 persons on board,—a small allowance of immigrants considering her bulk; and on Sunday our old friend the *Arabian*, with her usual ill-success, arrived from the same place with only 78. We are scarcely surprised that our worthy and spirited neighbours of Berbice, seeing facts like these before them, have come to the conclusion that this will never do.—*Guiana Gazette*.

THE WEATHER continues very, indeed distressingly dry. The plantations, as well as the inhabitants of the towns, are at last suffering severely from want of water. The navigation trenches, by means of which the canes are punted from the fields to the engine-houses to be ground, are on many estates entirely dried up, and, from want of water to convey them to the buildings, the canes are in some places beginning to rot on the ground.—*Guiana Gazette*.

The dry season is nearly as severe as ever. Vegetation looks generally as if it had been scathed with fire, and the want of good water, in town and country, is very distressing.—*Guiana Times*.

Miscellanea.

ESTHONIA, LIVONIA, AND COURLAND.—It is well-known that Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland have been successively conquered by five nations, viz., Russia, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany. After having passed under the dominion of these powers, they remained incorporated with Russia. But nevertheless the German race have continued to have the ascendancy, through its nobility, and with it the Protestant religion, the language, institutions, and manners of Germany. The commercial class in the towns came originally from the Hanseatic cities. The nobles are almost all from Northern Germany, and chiefly from Westphalia. There is a strong line of demarcation between the races of the conquerors and the primitive owners of the soil, and therefore all the freemen call themselves Germans, *Deutsche*, while the peasants or serfs are called *Undeutsche*, non-Germans. These denominations are derived from the period when these provinces were under the dominion of the Teutonic order. The indigenous people, whose origin is Finnish, or Livonian, have con-

tinued in the state of the vanquished race. Attached to the glebe, they have remained without mixture, preserving all their original characteristics. The peasants have in general kept themselves apart from the German race, and the diversity of languages which exists among them has still further contributed to keep up this division. Russia has, with great ability, profited by these political circumstances, and made herself the protectress of the conquered race against the conquerors. She has done more for the Livonian than for the Russian peasants, and, as we are bound to acknowledge, has even had recourse to liberal measures in support of her policy. Thus through her influence the peasant has passed gradually from his condition as a serf into that of a free-labourer of the soil. By a ukase issued in 1804, it was ordained that no peasant should be sold from off the land to which he was attached as a serf. In 1826 the peasant acquired the right of establishing himself where he pleased, without leave or license from his former masters. Such is the state of things in these countries, in which Russia is now making an active propagation of her language and religion.—*Journal des Debats*.

ANTI-SLAVERY MINSTRELS FROM AMERICA.—An extract of a letter from Manchester will have points of interest to those who take pleasure in seeing how in America the blood of those of whom England was not worthy struggles with the offspring of our negro-drivers on the question of slavery.—"I must mention to you a family of American vocalists, the Hutchinsons—who have made their appearance in these parts; a programme of whose performances I send you. There are four brothers and a sister, farmer's children of New Hampshire, part of a family of thirteen. In the spring they put the seed into the ground, during summer go out to sing, and in autumn return to gather in the harvest. This year they determined to try their luck in England; and from the success already met with, I should think they will have no reason to regret it. The first thing that struck me was the good taste they displayed in the selection of their words, and in the next place the excellent ear they have. Many of their melodies, and, if I mistake not, the whole of their harmonies, are of their own composition; and there is an earnestness, as well as a delicacy in what they do, which is delightful. Their manners are simple, unaffected, and independent; as you may judge from an anecdote I gathered from an American paper. The notorious editor of the *New York Herald* told them, that if they sang one of their anti-slavery songs, a mob would rise upon them, and he knew sixty young men who had determined to fall upon them. 'But,' said one of them, 'we must sing the truth; if not, we will go home and dig potatoes.' The night came, the hall was filled; they came on, accompanied by their sister, and began the song. The tumult began; they persevered; by-and-by there was something like applause; and before the conclusion they were received with cheers. They repeated the song, night after night, to audiences of three thousand people. Here and in the neighbouring towns, at the various institutions, their success has surpassed anything I remember; and they are engaged every night for this month. You must not expect a Malibran in the girl, who is only sixteen, nor a Duprez or a Lablache among the brothers; but simple harmony and ballad-singing in a style which catches hold of the popular feeling to a high degree. I have seen a whole Athenaeum and Mechanics' Institute, consisting of clerks and the working men, with tears coursing down their noses most piteously. They are encored in almost everything they sing, and they have considerable comic humour, which, though upon local subjects principally, has caught hold of our Lancashire people most thoroughly. They come with excellent letters of character to Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and Mr. George Thompson, as well as to myself." Truly the hand that is not shortened hath variety of instruments, and can make the fenced city fall before the voices of singing men and singing women, as well as before the battle and the storm.—*Nonconformist*.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The following contributions have been received since our last announcement, and are hereby thankfully acknowledged:—

	Donations.			Subs.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
York—Ladies Negro Friend Society	5	0	0			
Bristol—Thomas Alfred	5	0	0			
A Friend, per Daniel Wheeler (for past omissions)	4	4	0			
Webb, James	0	15	0			
Wheeler, Daniel				1	1	0
Collerell, J. H.				0	10	0
Birmingham—A Friend, per Joseph Sturge....	0	10	0			
Sturge, Edward (1842-3 to 1845-6)				4	0	0
Sturge, Charles (1843-4 to 1845-6).....				6	0	0
Worcester Auxiliary Society	10	0	0			
Coalbrook Dale—Graham, Thomas	2	15	0			
Bedford—Langley, Elizabeth				1	1	0
Falmouth—Fox, Mrs. Elizabeth				1	1	0
Fox, Miss				0	10	0
Truro—W. M. Tweedy				1	0	0
"Friends," by W. M. Tweedy.....	1	0	0			
Ipswich—Rev. Mr. Dickinson				1	0	0
Dublin—Bewley, J.				5	0	0

ERRATUM.—In our last list of contributions, for Liverpool, instead of Negro Friend Association, £2, read, Liverpool, Ladies' Negro's Friend Association, additional subscription, £2 5s.

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